Bourquin, C.
Fam. Letters
South Africa
LIBRARY

The UNION'S NATIVE PROBLEM

By the
Rev. CHARLES BOURQUIN
OF THE SWISS MISSION

Address
before the Athenaeum Society, Pretoria.

MORIJA PRINTING WORKS, BASUTOLAND

Hommage de l'auteur!
Prétoria Frontier
1923.

The Union's Native Problem

by the

Rev. CHARLES BOURQUIN

MORIJA PRINTING WORKS
BASUTOLAND

PREFACE

I have been asked by several people to publish the lecture I gave to the Athenaeum Society of Pretoria and which appeared in the Rand Daily Mail some months ago on the Native Problem.

That problem is of such vital importance for the future of South Africa, that we feel it our duty to do our best to try to shake the indifference of so many people concerning that important question.

This pamphlet is the resume of the experience of many years spent among the natives. It is not the work of one, but of many men ; I have found informations, ideas, inspiration in the study of books like those of Mr M. Evans, Molomo, Jabavu, Raoul Allier, on that problem ; and I wish to recognize my debt of gratitude to those unknown friends.

I have been told that some natives have found my appreciation of the influence of the heathen on the white race too severe ; it may be, but they cannot deny my deep sympathy for them. "I love my friends, but I love truth better yet."

May this modest writing bring some light, some inspiration, provoke some manly resolution in the heart of some of its readers, may it contribute to create a better understanding between Blacks and Whites, for the good of South Africa.

CHes. B.

THE UNION'S NATIVE PROBLEM

By the Rev. CHARLES BOURQUIN
OF THE SWISS MISSION

□ □

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ATHENAEUM SOCIETY, PRETORIA

□ □

I. ISLAM'S INFLUENCE IN AFRICA.

In his book, "The Rising Tide of Colour against White World Supremacy," a book which every thinking man ought to read, the American writer, Stoddard, shows that the year 1900 was the high-water mark of the white tide and that 1904 is the beginning of the ebb. The fighting with the Huns, Arabs, Mongols and Turks had tempered the iron of Europe into the finest steel. Then Europe began to swarm to the ends of the earth : goods, ideas, men ; and for years the pace never slackened. From 2,000,000 in 1480 the population of Great Britain has reached over 45,000,000, and the whites, instead of 70,000,000, have become 550.000,000. Nine-tenths of the globe is under their political control.

The white race believes that its expansion will continue indefinitely. "Error !" says Stoddard. "What happened in the dawn of history in Central Asia, which was predominantly a white man's country, the very homeland of the white race, which is now the brown man's land, might happen again." There are 1,500,000,000 coloured men increasing very much faster than the whites, and impa-

tient to get rid of their yoke. Whites double in 80 years ; yellows, browns, in 60 ; blacks in 40. Note that among whites the birth-rate is declining everywhere. Moreover, the white man all over the globe is removing causes of famine, contagious disease, tribal warfare ; the consequence has been and will be a portentous increase of population in nearly every portion of the coloured world, or steadily augmenting the outward thrust of surplus coloured men from overcrowded coloured homelands, populated up to the available limits of subsistence.

The victory of Japan over Russia has filled with joy and hope both Asia and Africa ; that war has been the victory of one world over the other.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

The Chinese Revolution has been rightly defined : "The most momentous event in a thousand years". National self-consciousness and articulate patriotism are fast developing in China. The population increases yearly by six million inhabitants, and being already over-populated, they are feeling increasingly the need of racial expansion. What makes the danger greater is that experience proves that the Chinese, like the Japs, as all-round labourers, can easily out-distance all competitors. Asia and Africa, too, are realising more and more that ignorance and lack of machinery are responsible for their poverty and they are doing much to remedy their situation, and the cheapness of Asiatic labour is such that the question of Asiatic immigration threatens not merely the white supremacy and prosperity but our very race existence.

The Japanese are systematically eliminating all existing white holdings in the Far East. They are trying to secure complete racial equality, freedom of emigration to the white man's land. Under the influence of Japan whole series of societies are formed, having for their object the knitting of close agricultural and economic ties between Japan, China, Siam, India, etc. In the schools, in vernacular Asiatic papers, all over Eastern Asia, Japan is

preaching the Gospel : "Asia for the Asiatics." The objective of Japan's foreign policy is "the mastery of the Pacific and the hegemony in the Far East in which white influence shall have been reduced to a vanishing quantity."

ISLAM AS A POWER.

The brown man's world, too, is in acute reaction against white supremacy. Although the Moslem world is nearly entirely under European control, Islam is, even now, an enormous power, full of sustaining vitality. They are assimilating rapidly Western ideas and methods. Islam is united. It is gaining ground in Central Asia, in India, in Africa through modern propaganda, with Christian methods. Their object is spiritual revival and political emancipation. For that aim brotherhoods have been formed, among which that of the Senussi is one of the most important. They are covering Africa with their lodges and schools, disciplining the people to the voice of their chiefs, converting millions of pagan negroes to their faith. In 1915 the Allies' Asiatic and African possessions stood within a hand's breadth of a cataclysmic insurrection. But the leaders recognised that this was neither the time nor the occasion for a decisive struggle with the West. Everywhere, from Morocco to the West Indies, in the Philippines, Dutch Indies as well as in Egypt and India, where the white rule is purely political, the determination to get rid of white rule is spreading and growing.

Concerning Africa directly, what is the attitude of the augmenting black masses ? The Arabs and the Europeans are rivals for the mastership of black Africa ; which of the two is going to overcome the other ?

From the seventh century until now, Islam has gained 50,000,000 blacks. Mahomed is making terrific progress in the interior of Africa. In Nyasaland they began their propaganda in 1900. Ten years after almost every village in Southern Nyasaland had its Moslem teacher, its mosque hut.

DANGER FOR OUR RACE.

In so far as he is Islamised, the negro's warlike propensities will be inflamed, and he will be used as the tool of Arabs against the whites. The danger for our race is to see Pan-Islamism possessed of Africa, forging black Africa into a militant army of zealots, which would be, in their hands, a terrific tool.

The earth is growing smaller and smaller ; and men are everywhere in close touch with the development of cheap and rapid transportation. Nature's barriers are down, and the problem for the white race which must, by all means, for the benefit of mankind, remain itself, is to know what measures to take not to be supplanted or absorbed or sterilised by the teeming coloured races. And that problem is infinitely more pressing now than before the war, which has been, as Stoddard says, as we all know, a headlong plunge into white race suicide. Material losses have been appalling ; the moral and spiritual losses are perhaps even more appalling, as shown by the actual chaos of spiritual, moral and even intellectual values which exist in Europe to-day, giving birth to such monstrous insanities as Bolshevism. It seems that the war has killed most of those things for which the best soldiers have died.

White solidarity has been shattered to its base, and if the white race, weakened, impoverished, handicapped by the great war, is not ready, here in South Africa, as in Europe, to forgive one another, to abandon their petty rivalries, to realise the magnitude of the coloured problem, if the best brains, the best hearts and the heaviest purses do not help to solve it, there is little hope of escaping the danger which threatens the whole white race.

If the colour problem concerns every man, woman and child of our race, how much more does it concern everybody in South Africa ! The ignorance, the indifference concerning that problem in many circles is unpardonable.

Rich and poor, learned and ignorant, sick and well, good and bad, blacks and whites, we are all bound up together in one bundle of life by the numerous ties of solidarity.

No isolating walls can keep the ills of the weak from reaching the strong. "Carlyle tells us," says Fosdick, "of one Irish widow, who, in Edinburgh, with three helpless children, sought help in vain, fell ill of typhus, and, infecting seventeen others, died." "The forlorn Irish widow," cries Carlyle, "grimly applies to her fellow-creatures ; 'Behold, I am sinking bare of help. I am your sister, one God made us. You must help me.' They answer : 'No, impossible, thou art no sister of ours.' But she proves her sisterhood ; her typhus kills them."

By a correspondence impossible to grasp, one can say that all that a human being does influence others, is profitable or detrimental to them. In society, influences, degenerative or uplifting, are ever present, ever acting, ever accumulative.

The psychologists noticed, not very long ago, that what seems to be transmitted the most frequently to others is what lies in the deepest parts of ourselves, that we are unconscious of that which inspires our conduct. Our bad or good feelings and thoughts are transmitted independently of our will and knowledge from ourselves to others, and reciprocally, there is a continual transmission of something bad or good.

II. The Life of The Kraal.

We are about 1,500,000 whites in South Africa living side by side with 5,000,000 natives. Our relations with them increase and deepen every year. In every shop, in every home, in nearly every kind of work, we have native boys and girls. In thousands of families, even among cultured people, we see younger children nursed by black boys or girls, who may be vicious, dull, or stupid, and those children are thus living in an atmosphere pervaded by Kaffirdom. Don't you think that the constant, intimate

presence of those dull and sometimes vicious servants (I am speaking of heathen servants) has an incalculable influence on those children, who are at the most susceptible time of life ? Those children, and even grown-up people, are inevitably assimilating some of the race characteristics of the natives. There is a subtle, intangible influence over us by them ; there is a transmutation unseen, but no less intimate, of some portion of the character of the black man to us, and reciprocally.

In a very striking chapter of his book on "Black and White in S. E. Africa," Mr Maurice Evans gives a striking example of the change brought on us by the presence of the black man.

He remarks that the class which in European countries or in other colonies lives hard, works hard, whose livelihood depends on labour which tightens the fibres and hardens the muscles, scarcely exists in South Africa. We use the cheap and abundant physical force of the natives. Conditions are easier, life softer, and that is why the white manual labourers are nearly absent here, and it is that class of men which forms the solid foundation of society in other countries. It is a well-known fact that titled families and higher classes must be constantly revitalised by new blood from below. The absence of the disciplinary value of self-help, the ability to transfer the unpleasant to another, the lack of a demand upon our physical resources will have certainly an effect on the young especially.

DEGENERATING WHITES.

Already now, under that influence there is a class, the so-called poor whites, which is degenerating. The members of it are sinking in misery and wretchedness, and it is the direct result of native and coloured environment.

"We have to govern" says M. Evans, "a people overwhelmingly numerous, prolific, persistent, more and more efficient, which is going to make calls always heavier on our very best, and for that work we must have the best men physically, mentally, morally. And the problem, one

of the problems, is to know how to fight against the demoralising influences of a lower race, to help to build up the character of the strong men who have begun to build up South Africa."

Before proceeding to the study of our problem, or rather problems, I think it most important to know who are those natives about whom we are concerned. Few people in South Africa would recognise that they know very little what the natives are. Nearly everyone thinks that he knows what a Kaffir is. I have lived fifteen years among them, speaking their own language, being in constant contact with them, and I realise more and more how far I am from knowing and from understanding thoroughly the native mind, the native customs, their social life. However, I know, by experience and by study, something of them.

NAKED FACTS.

The native, the raw one, as you know, is generally born in a narrow hut where neither the light of the sun nor fresh air penetrate.

From his childhood he is associated with the naked facts of life. He considers without surprise, gestures and deeds, he hears without blushing, words and conversations which we would consider poisonous for our children. The native is naked not only physically but also by his words and actions.

You will know his natural aversion for regular methodical work. —"Swa ndji hlula," it is too much for me, — are words which you constantly hear. The education he gets at home is deplorable. From his childhood he is accustomed to see his desires, his appetites, satisfied. When a child has said to his mother, "Nda yala, I refuse," she does not think it possible for her to contradict her child. They have the same word to express "I like" and "I will"; the same word to express "I must" and "It suits me." He has therefore no spirit of true obedience. Instead of a firm will they have but volitions, exercising themselves in the

sense of what pleases them. An example : Our two kitchen boys won't eat brown sugar ; they don't like it ; they know that our children take it in their porridge ; but they don't mind. "Mbilu ya yala," the heart refuses. What is to be done against that ?

By virtue of the formula: that which has never been done is not done, he has been shut for centuries to every progress. The fixed custom to which one submits himself, without knowing why, is his law. The reason of that stagnation, why the natives have not developed themselves as the people of Europe or other countries, is not easy to find. One of the reasons, the principal one, I think, is to be found in their political, social, religious system.

Among Bantu people, the chief is the father, the head, the general, the judge, the high priest and, after his death, the god.

The various members of the tribe are bound by a strong social element, a tradition which is an unwritten law, which everyone has to respect and to uphold.

A CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

The village is a co-operative society between whose members interdependence is a "sine qua non."

The tribe is a co-operative union of villages, among the members of which reigns nearly social economic equality.

Services are not paid for. Generally, where there is food anywhere nobody needs starve, for the rich give to the needy. The contrasts of capitalism and pauperism, competition and despair, sweated labour and gorgeousness, squalid hardship and soul-destroying comfort and luxury, do not exist among the primitive Bantu.

Prostitution, physical degeneration, venereal diseases, tuberculosis were unknown. Social unrest was nearly impossible.

Collectivism is the civic law, communism the ruling spirit.

The uncultivated land was the common property of the tribe.

By that system, there was no great desire, no stimulus to increase one's property, to progress. They were condemned to remain in a peaceful mediocrity, adopting the opinion of the day, making no inquiry, absolutely deprived of that spirit of criticism so necessary for any progress. They conformed themselves to the standard of the moral and knowledge common to their tribe. And, the dead chiefs being their gods, to abandon their tradition, to enter into a new way of doing, of thinking, was a sacrilege.

Among them the prestige and importance of a man depends on the number of wives he has. Polygamy develops his pride, his vanity.

They have the native simplicity of the child — his versatility, his mobility, his candour, his carelessness, his thriftlessness, his generosity, his jolly laugh. He fears to be mocked, to be alone. He has the impressionability, the intuition of the child ; he feels at once whether you have any real sympathy for him. He penetrates, guesses what we intend, what we are.

MINOR WITH MAN'S PASSIONS.

The black man is a minor, that is a being which, with the organism of a grown-up man, has the passions of a grown-up man, whose reason remains childish, whose elementary intelligence is interested by concrete facts, but is seldom capable of concentration.

The native, under ordinary conditions, is contented, indolent, prone to flitter after shadows, kindly, intensely social, lacking foresight, imitative rather than constructive, with superabundant animal vitality, strong sexual instincts, unrevengeful, with a distinct capacity for fidelity to those they trust, with a disposition to submit to the authority of recognised superiors. Long-suffering, the native soon forgets and is happy till the next time.

He is full of superstitions ; no disease, no accident, no death is due to a natural cause ; it comes from the gods, spirits of their ancestors, or from their neighbours who,

according to their belief, have the power to come invisibly with his spirit to do him any amount of harm. Therefore, fear and suspicion often poison the family life and the social life of the natives. Anyone could be suspected of having bewitched his neighbour or of having prevented rain from falling, and therefore nobody was sure to be alive the next morning.

He has neither temple nor days consecrated. His gods can bless or curse, but they are without moral excellencies, without holiness.

His gods are like old peevish men, who feel deeply every want of attention, or respect, and who are ready to avenge themselves if they are neglected.

Salvation for them is physical, material ; their prayers, their religion have no influence whatever on their conduct.

Has the black man that which distinguishes us from the animal ? The constitutive human fact, the fact that makes a man a man, without which he ceases to be a man ? Has the black man a conscience, or is he merely sensation, instinct, intelligence, volition ?

III. Development Of The Black Race.

It is exceedingly rare to find among raw heathen the sense of sin, the aspiration after moral purity. However, the natives live in society, and how could they subsist if the distinction between evil and good did not exist ?

There is protestation against theft, adultery, etc., and such a protest cannot be separated from the idea of right, from the idea of duty, of justice. Naturally, the content of the conscience varies. For instance, injuries, misdeeds, deceits, etc., were crimes, if they prejudiced the tribe, they became virtues if they were done outside the tribe. Their altruism, their virtues were restricted to the tribe.

Their conscience is chiefly tribal, but there is in the natives that faculty, that second heart, which checks our impulsive actions and which approves or disapproves our heart, our temper, our actions.

But the raw natives have entered into contact with civilisation and the race is undergoing very rapidly a complete transformation.

The limited share they had in the government of the tribe does not exist any more ; their opinion is never asked by the white magistrate. They are forgetting the folklore and myth which gave interest to their lives. The war-like expeditions which gave vent to the strong physical natures are forbidden. The weapons, ustensils, which they made themselves, which gave scope to ingenuity and some artistic effort, are bought at the white man's shop. Old customs, stories, knowledge of woodcraft and plants, which stimulated the mental powers and their imagination, will soon be things of the past.

TOWN INFLUENCE.

The authority of the chiefs is disappearing rapidly, and young people are getting out of hand. They are losing interest in the natural, simple things of nature and of their kraals. Excitement is looked for in towns, in beer-drinking, in evil living with the hundreds and thousands of young native girls and women who are more and more swarming into the cities. The restraints and moral sanctions of the tribe are cast down. As a native writer, Mr Molomo, educated in Scotland, writes : "The Bantu race is just on the threshold of civilisation ; completely misunderstanding civilisation. Most of them blindly grasp and adopt its symbols only. Without the staying power of knowledge, they have nothing of the new civilisation to hold on and nothing of their old civilisation to fall back upon."

"The tendency of many is to lose identity and to remember and imitate the European." So speaks one of them. They are in the position of a small brother, before a very

big brother who is doing many wonderful things. In all those things he does not know how to distinguish what is good and what bad ; all seems to him equally remarkable. Imagining himself educated because he can, perhaps, read and write and wear a collar and varnished boots, he scorns, he despises his national tradition, he absorbs all the shortcomings of civilisation and misses all the good in it ; and, at the end, they are infinitely worse than they were in their raw, uncivilised state.

Very often white people call such natives educated Kaffirs, mission natives, Christian Kaffirs, point them out as typical products of the mission school. Such a native has spent some time, perhaps, in a school ; he has made profession of Christianity, but he very seldom got true education. His education has often been only detribalisation and familiarity with the lower classes of European city life. I, too, much prefer the raw, untouched, purely uncivilised but none the less observant, self-respecting, sometimes even virtuous native to his half-civilised, whitewashed brother who has found in the cities the fullest opportunities for mental and moral deterioration.

But there is a third category, here in South Africa. A handful of men have tried to give to the natives access to influences and instruction calculated to counteract the pernicious influences of a civilisation purely materialistic. They are trying to give something to supersede the old activities, to keep what is best in their race and character and to build upon it something better and higher.

EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY.

Although the object of your society is the encouragement of art, literature, science and philosophy, avoiding religious and political questions, you will allow me to show, as briefly as possible, the influence of Christianity upon the black race ; by doing so, I don't think I shall lose sight of, in the least, the object of your society. I shall not leave the solid ground of fact and reality.

Christianity and science are not two inimical powers fighting against one another. Christianity has produced rites, dogmas, creeds which are but accessory things ; its essence is a concrete life, a spiritual, healthy life — its aim is the maximum of life for the whole world ; that life proceeds from a person — Jesus Christ — and can be studied in the life of Jesus Christ and the lives of His disciples. Science has dogmas too, hypotheses non-verified ; and at first the man of science acts as if those hypotheses were true, and it is experience which proves if those hypotheses are true or not.

The principles by which Jesus and His disciples acted, the laws which they taught, are absolutely in harmony with our nature and with human society ; to obey those laws is health, life, happiness, and if we break them, they break us. Modern science and Christianity are of one opinion on that point. Formerly, science studied only physical and physiological phenomena ; in latter years she has studied psychological and religious facts ; and it has been for science quite a revelation. To-day many men of science recognise that religious phenomena are produced by some deep reality, and men like Pasteur, Taine and many others, have recognised the superiority of it.

ALONE EFFICACIOUS.

Let us see the influence of Christianity on the natives. A Commission named in 1903 by the English Government which made an investigation about the natives from the Cape to the Zambesi, having interrogated 330 persons of all professions, concludes that to fight against the demoralisation of the natives, the adoption of the Christian faith and morality is alone efficacious, and arrives at the conclusion that the most important factor for the true civilisation of the natives is Christianity, and every sincere, well-informed man who does not allow his judgment to be formed by what the man in the street is saying, will come to the same conclusion. What is the influence of Christianity not only on the individuals but on the social, economical situation of the country ?

Naturally, our aim is above all religious, moral — it is to provoke in the heart of the native an intimate, inward transformation — the development of the conscience, by presenting them the ideal of manliness, justice, charity, which is in Christ — to communicate to them the love of that ideal, by giving them the conviction that that ideal can be, must be, gradually realised in spite of the contrary impulses. Our aim is to create individualities, not merely boys, but men who distrust themselves, who acquire by-and-bye the habit of thinking, self-knowledge, self-control, who gradually get rid of the bestiality inherited or acquired — in whom a new spirit is at work.

But, as it has been said, in the individual transformation the social transformations are in germ. The new man bears in himself the existence, the prophecy of a new world.

See for instance the influence of the principle of monogamy. The monogamist, who has no more several wives to nourish him, to cultivate his gardens, is obliged to work regularly and no more by fits, as the heathen. The result is more work, work of a better quality.

With the help of Christianity his horizon broadens ; he will learn ; he must buy books, slates ; member of a church, he helps to build a chapel, a school, buildings ; he pays his church contributions. New wants arise in him ; he buys clothes, very often a watch, plates, forks, etc. He builds a house with doors and windows ; and inside, you often find beds, tables, some chairs, sometimes a harmonium and flowers.

The feeling of his dignity as a human being — as a Son of God Who gave His Son for the salvation of all men, of all races — arises in him. But at the same time he begins to understand the infinite value of the most humble among the sons of men. In presence of the Christ crucified by men, for men — he understands that he is the most miserable creature, that the only attitude he can take towards God and his fellowmen is that of humiliation, begetting humility ?

IV. The Power Of Christianity.

I have had, more than once, the opportunity of spending a few weeks in Basutoland, and I have seen with my eyes what Christianity — introduced about ninety years ago by some French-Swiss missionaries — has done for the country. You find schools—primary, normal, industrial, and pastoral — and churches nearly all over the country. The teachers and most of the ministers are natives. There is a printing press where fifteen natives are working. Thousands of books and a weekly paper are printed there every year. One or two natives have written in Sesuto some novels which have a true literary value.

The country is rich. I have met there a Christian native earning with his sheep and his cattle about £ 2,000 a year. When the great rinderpest epidemic broke out, the heathen refused to have their cattle inoculated, and they lost nearly all of them. The Christians, on the contrary, wiser, allowed their cattle to be inoculated and so saved, 70 per cent of them. That is how Christianity transforms savages into useful collaborators in the economical and social development of the country.

On the other hand, Basutoland shows that the natives are unable to govern themselves. The white man cannot leave them alone. As you know, they are governing themselves under the supervision of a Royal Commissioner. But his authority is so small that he cannot take any efficacious measure to oblige the natives to plant trees, to build dams for the conservation of the water, to sell part of their sheep and goats, which are so many they are gradually destroying the pastures. There are actually big tracts of land absolutely barren, without grass at all, and if, energetic measures are not taken without delay, if the power of the chiefs is not limited, one of the most beautiful and healthiest parts of South Africa will go to ruin.

It is not only in Basutoland, but in the Transkei, in many places in Natal, in Cape Province, in Khama's land, here in the Transvaal, in Bethanie, near Wolhuterskop, for instance, and many other places, that you can see among people whose conscience was nearly materialised, the power of Christianity to transform the taste, the feelings, the desires, the characters, the lives of the people, its power to create true freedom, life and beauty.

VITALISING POWER.

The study of history and, above all, the study of the last great war shows us that civilisation based on materialism and selfishness, — that selfishness which makes one man take everything for himself, and one country seize everything for itself, — a selfishness which shows that a man is too pre-occupied with his own interests to take into consideration those of his neighbours, — shows us that such a civilisation is bound to destroy itself. On the other hand, we have seen, and we see, that, whenever and wherever men have placed the service of their fellow-men above wealth, — the general welfare above their private interests, human life above material goods, — whenever men have been more pre-occupied with their duties than with their rights, — have been filled with a passionate desire for the liberty and the health of humanity, — that is whenever the principles of Christianity have inspired men, — the secret of peace, of strength, of freedom, of prosperity has been found. This is why we believe that we have in Christianity something distinctly vital, without which the world, without which South Africa cannot live, without which our social, racial, economical problems cannot be solved.

This is why we missionaries are doing our best to christianise, to instil a spirit of humility, charity, forgiveness, manliness, into the black race. Our aim is the foundation of a native church, indigenous to the soil, expressing its faith in its own way, representing a new type of life among the heathen, developing their hidden capacities, cultiva

ting their special gifts, creating an original life able to enrich the life of humanity by their distinct contributions.

Unfortunately some thirty years ago some Afro-American Methodist preachers came to South Africa. They founded the Ethiopian Church, which was soon turned into a Cave of Adullam, where the gospel of Africa to Africans has been preached with zeal and conviction. Their success was due to a legitimate, but premature desire of independence and to the numerous mistakes of missionaries themselves in dealing with them. That anti-white church has split into innumerable sects ; and to-day, there re 123 different Ethiopian churches on the Rand alone. The moral, intellectual, spiritual standard is very low ; most of their ministers, bearing the collar, have scarcely a primary instruction. The famous Enok of Bullhoek, meditating to-day on the vicissitudes of life, was one of them. But their anti-white feelings have in general changed, I think, for the better.

IN NYASALAND.

However, this is what happened in Nyasaland in 1915. John Chilembwe, Ethiopian preacher, educated in the United States, began a bitter anti-white propaganda. He preached that the white man was an intruder who ought to be killed off, until he grew discouraged and abandoned the country. He plotted a rising all over Nyasaland : the kil ing of the white men, the carrying off of the women. The rising took place in January, 1915. Several whites were killed and their herds carried to Chilembwe's Church, where a thanksgiving service was held. After a short struggle, that insurrection was put to an end, and Chilembwe was sent to his own place.

The problem for the missions and for the Government is to find how to prevent the growing of that movement and to minimise its dangers. What I cannot understand, is how the authorities can recognise, as ministers of the Gospel, having the right to have concession tickets and to be leaders of churches, men whose instruction is so deficient.

It is a fact recognised by all that the discontent among the natives from Cape Town to the Zambesi is great. The study of some of the causes of that general discontent is, I think, the best way to understand better the importance and the gravity of the native question.

NATIVES AND LAND.

And, first, there is the land question which is of such importance to the natives that it has been said ; "The native question is the land question." "Take my land, and you take my life," says the African. For him, sun, water, land is a single element, and it is why he is so revolted by the alienation of land, and why he cannot understand that land is a commercial ownership.

Formerly the land was sufficient. But natives and white men have increased, newcomers are coming every year and now the land hunger is there. The Land Act of 1913, they say, aims at reducing the Bantu people to serfdom, to have the land of the colonies occupied and cultivated by white men, with natives as servants. "Its purpose," as one of its movers said, "is to take effective measures to restrict the purchase and lease of land by natives"; and this it has done, by evicting nearly a million of natives, who held land on lease for ploughing and the raising of live stock. They had to sell everything and go as servants of the white farmers. They say that by closing all doors to independence, by refusing to sell or lease land to him, he must be forced into this bondage. They say : "In the past, slavery took the African from the land and thereby enslaved him ; in the twentieth century slavery took the land from the African and then enslaved him on his own soil. They feel that the Government to whom they belong, of which they had such a high opinion, which they considered as a father and protector, has left them to the rapacity of those who are favoured.

There is often much exaggeration in their complaints, but they are not groundless. Three weeks ago, at a meeting with Drs Loram, Moffat, and General Lemar, the Rev.

Mr Joyce, of Johannesburg, was speaking of one of his natives, who had been allowed to settle on a farm on the condition that he would work for the farmer twelve months. After the twelve months, the farmer gave him his trek pass and he had to wander about the country three months till he could find another place to settle. The farmer has the power to make the natives work on his farm not only three months as I thought, but as much as he wishes, and if the native complains he is driven away without mercy. A few weeks ago, in the district of Lydenburg, the inhabitants of a farm, having been refused the liberty to pay £ 2 a year, instead of working, eighty families were driven away — had to leave their huts and their fields not knowing where to go.

The Crown Lands are alienated more and more as private holdings, and if the natives living there do not agree to work gratuitously for the white man, very often they do not know where to go, because provision is not made for them elsewhere ; and the locations, in many parts, are full, and reserves in many other parts of South Africa are nearing the limit of the population they will accommodate — the land held by the Europeans per head in the Union is fifty times the amount held by the natives per head.

V. How To Secure A Happy Solution.

We must say that the Bantu are the worst agriculturists and most wasteful occupiers of land in the world. The forests are gradually destroyed by them and nothing is planted. The location would certainly support a much larger population, but for that the natives must be taught to fence, to manure, to cultivate better, to build dams, to plant trees for the conservation of water. How to do it ? that is the question. But it must be done. Land must be provided for them in our own selfish interest, and the na-

tives, swarming into the towns with their families, must be sent back as much as possible to the land, for their good and our own good. The experience gained with the negroes of the Southern States of America must not be lost to us.

Mr Evans, in his interesting book on the negroes of America, writes that in the United States the disparity in numbers, education, wealth, and political experience between the two races is far less than in South Africa. The language is the same ; a larger number (two millions out of ten million negroes) can claim blood relationship with both races. Some fifty years have elapsed since the opportunity came to the black coloured man, and to-day the races stand apart in two armed camps ; the tension, dislike, hatred are growing from more to more. The native race is in an anomalous and degrading position. We must not drift into such a position. To follow a policy giving the natives a chance of their full race development, to minimise or to eliminate the dangers to both from race contact and conflict, to adjust the life of each that both should be content — that is, says Mr Evans, the big South African problem.

The white man must allow as little as possible competition, but he cannot leave the natives all alone, he has a guardianship over them. Although very imperfectly, he has acted as a guardian and a protector for him ; he has given him education, churches, hospitals — he has reserved locations — prevented the baser from exploiting him by selling liquors ; in times of famine he has fed him, and although the slaughters of internecine wars have been replaced by the frightful mortality of new exterminating diseases — although civilisation has brought to them vices much worse than those of their tribal life, I think that on the whole the contact of the natives with the Europeans has been for better and not for worse till now.

TO AVOID DISASTER.

But if we will avoid a disaster, I think, as many others, that the best for white and black would be to allow natives to live as much as possible their own life, manage their

own affairs, have their independent institutions under the guidance of able, sympathetic, white administrators. We should touch at as few points as possible — have all over South Africa large areas inhabited entirely by whites and large areas inhabited by blacks. But the separation, if possible, if it is not too late, should not be carried out without consulting the natives.

The black race has never shown so far real constructive power. The negro left to himself, as in Haiti and Liberia, rapidly reverts to his ancestral ways. That is why black Africa is unable to stand alone and why the white man must stand fast in Africa, if he would not see Pan-Islamism possessed of the great dark continent.

Besides the land question, there are many other causes of bitter discontent which I shall only mention, for it is time to conclude.

There is the question of the passes. Dr Loram was speaking of natives who must have as many as fifteen passes to go from one district to another. Many of them consider the Pass Laws as the greatest humiliation and a system which enslaves them.

There is the question of the salaries. The natives, in spite of the heavy cost of living, are expected to live with the same salary as before the war plus a rise of only 5 per cent.

There is the question of justice. The natives are losing faith, they say, in the Department of Justice. On account of racial hatred in a country like South Africa, the jury system cannot but be a failure. When a black man is pitted against a white man, fair play cannot be expected.

EDUCATION.

There is the question of education. While the Government is spending £ 100,000 yearly on agricultural schools for white men, plus overseas scholarships and experimental stations, it gives next to nothing for black people who pay so many taxes and stand in sorest need of agricult-

ural training. In 1910, in the Southern States of America, there were 141 public high schools for coloured people, with about 10,935 students, and 540 institutions engaged in the secondary and higher education of the negro. One million dollars were spent for education. In the same year, in Natal, 75,000 dollars, and in the Transvaal £ 15,000 was spent for that purpose.

Our present system of education is much too academic, too bookish, too little related to practical life, not calculated enough to help them to fit the natives for their work in life, to make them worthy citizens. And if they want higher education, they have to fetch it from Europe or the U. S. A.— There is the natural antipathy and contempt which exist in the hearts of so many white men. "The niggers have to do the dirty and unpleasant work, and if they get trained and try to do my work, I will kill them."— A Christian doctor, not long ago, was writing : "If my heart did not go out to the negro, as a human being, or I cared less for my God, and an earnest wish to walk in His ways I would kill the negro or die trying."

No people on earth are more susceptible to kind treatment, to a gentle, courteous, yet dignified manner, than the native. No people are more ready to submit with less resentment to distinctions that are not insulting. This is why they resent so much that spirit, so prevalent, which makes that even an educated native cannot move anywhere without being made to know, as Mr Jabavu says, that his black skin is his life-long damnation. They are not considered as men, as people, but as boys, natives — and in many homes they are allowed to go into the bedrooms when ladies are still in bed or in light costume, just as if their servants were a piece of wood. And that is the principal reason why white women, who were looked on, as something infinitely higher and more remote than white men (by the natives), are now and again assaulted by them.

I know a merchant here in Pretoria who sells to the natives one pound of bread a penny dearer than to others just because they are natives. Some people are asking

from natives as much as one shilling for a letter received in their postal box. In markets, his stock and produce are, by tacit agreement, ear-marked for low prices, while his sugar cane is not accepted at the Zululand mills.

A NATION'S TESTS.

It has been said that the running of a tropical colony is of all tests the most searching as to the development of a nation that attempts it. To see helpless people and not oppress them, to see great wealth and not confiscate it, to have absolute power and not abuse it, to raise the natives and not sink ourselves, these are the supreme tests of a nation's spirit. And what is true concerning a nation is equally true concerning the individuals, and I know by experience how difficult it is to be always fair with an ignorant and helpless native.

And there are still many other complaints, many other questions, but I have already abused your patience.

A year ago, after eight months spent in the Transvaal, I was writing to a friend in Switzerland that since we arrived in Pretoria I was struck by the fact that the abyss between the two races is growing more and more. Many white people seem to ignore that natives are human beings, who, like ourselves, feel, suffer, need respect, affection and justice just as we do. Most of them do not see the change operated among blacks during the forty years past, the astonishing evolution which has taken place during the five years of the great war. The whites do not seem to realise that by travelling, schools, newspapers, churches, the daily contact with a superior race, many natives have become men able to observe, to compare, to think, to criticise, taking cognizance of their individuality, of their dignity as men, of the unity of their race. The name of Britain stood for them for perfection of government, strength, was synonymous with honour, magnanimity, justice and humanity, they had hoped so much from it

and it has done much for them, and now they say that "the cow of Great Britain has now gone dry, and we must look to our own selves for salvation. Even missionaries adopt with us the distant and reserved attitude of the other white people. We are without right, without land, pariahs in the land of our fathers, and, when we try to claim our rights — to ask for higher salaries, our leaders are imprisoned as Masabalala at Port Elizabeth and we are sent back at the point of the bayonet."

And in hearing those men, embittered, ill-advised, very often badly or imperfectly informed, revolted by the contempt and the abuses of some white people, thinking sometimes inspired by injustice and hatred, measures inspired by wisdom and love — in face of that revival of the personality of the black man, we feel that there ought to be, to guide and advise them, blacks and whites, men gifted with a deep power of sympathy, a great wisdom, a wide knowledge of the mind, language and customs of the natives. There are such men, but they are few.

Many who have to deal with him feel for the native hostility, aversion. They have studied neither his language nor his habits, nor his spirit, nor his soul. And how is it possible without that sympathy, — the key of knowledge, — to understand them, advise them, work effectively to the development of a common life in justice and peace ? We, missionaries and every white man who understands his duty towards the native race must, by our wisdom and sympathy, win the confidence of our natives. We must bring them to prefer to violence and Bolshevism, the evolutionary solutions, the slow, but progressive development of their race under the influence of Christianity.

Events are made by men by their will. We do not believe in absolute determination. Why have the Germans been stopped on the Marne, a little river, a weak string between the two armies ? It is because behind that river were men, were wills, who, obeying the "mot d'ordre," consented to be killed rather than to retreat, and it was

the same at Verdun and on the Yser, at Ypres and elsewhere. It is not fatalism which is going to create the world of to-morrow either for good or for evil, here in South Africa or elsewhere. What we want for a happy solution of the native problem are men, white and black, with broad minds, big hearts and strong wills, resolved to do their duty whatever may be the cost.